

PEACE Stead on The Hague Congress. WAR PROBABLE Between Boers and Britons. FOREIGN NEWS. WAR POSSIBLE In Excited France. WAR EXISTING In Isles of Philip.

WILLIAM T. STEAD SEES GREAT STRIDES MADE TOWARD PEACE AND SAYS THAT AMERICA'S ARBITRATION PLAN IS LIKED BETTER THAN THE RUSSIAN.

Czar's Proposal for a Permanent Tribunal to Sit Continuously Is Considered Too Radical for This Conference—Rights of Invaders to Be Limited.

By William T. Stead.

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THE HAGUE.

June 10.—The conference this week has proceeded steadily along its appointed path. It has settled the question of the application of Red Cross rules to naval warfare. It has recast the rules of war drawn up by the Brussels Conference. It has brushed to one side the fragments that remained of the Russian proposals for limiting new inventions. It has seriously grappled with the question of a permanent tribunal of arbitration. "This is not a bad showing for only three weeks of work," as one of the most influential of the minor delegates remarked to me this week.

"The conference has achieved much greater success than any of us ventured to hope. It has not inaugurated a millennium, but such things are not to be done in three weeks."

"What it has done has been to show that representatives of all governments can meet together in good faith with an earnest desire to do something practical, and what is more, they have done it."

"I have never known a conference in which there was such absence of personal ambition, such an unmistakable desire to arrive at a good result."

"There is genuine regret when irreconcilable differences of opinion render an agreement impossible."

"The expense of the conference is infinitesimal, and the time it takes is very short compared with the good that it does."

Two Great Themes Discussed.

This week has been chiefly devoted to the discussion of two great themes, both well worthy the attention of an international parliament.

The first is the burning question of the right of populations to defend their country against an invading army. It was the irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the limits of such rights which rendered the Brussels conference proposals a dead letter for thirty-five years.

The great powers, which have highly organized armies, insist that the right of the civil population to resist an invader shall only be recognized when those who make such resistance are organized, whereas representatives of the smaller powers, whose organized forces are small, stoutly contend for the right of every citizen in an invaded country to defend himself as best he can by any means within his reach without thereby forfeiting his rights to be regarded as a legitimate belligerent.

The conflict between these two opposing parties came to a head in an encounter between M. Bruwaert, the representative of Belgium, and M. Martens, of Russia, in the rules of war section on Tuesday, a contest renewed on Thursday and continued on Saturday.

Belgians protest against any recognition of rights of an invader. Their view is that

invaders have no rights; that the population of an invaded country has every right. They hold further that the peasant who defends his cottage or the townsman who fires from the windows of his house or cuts off in any way he pleases parties of the enemy is entitled to claim the protection of the laws of war. That is to say, they claim for themselves all the privileges of combatants while repudiating any obligation to be bound by the laws and customs of war.

Claim Right to Assassinate.

Some of the Belgians even maintain in private conversation, although this point of view was not publicly expressed at the conference, the right of an invaded population to resort to assassination, to poison and to any and every means which ingenuity can suggest to impede the advance of the invader.

They invoke the memory of the Sicilian Vespers and of the massacre of the French at Bruges in the fifteenth century as illustrating the resources which despair can give to a population which, from a military point of view, is helpless, and they avow their determination to resort to similar measures should any foreign power endeavor to destroy the independence of their country.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the patriotic devotion which leads men to contemplate such extremities of resistance.

The representatives of the great military powers reply that they have no objection to trying the game on those terms, but if the invaded population refuse to respect the laws and customs of war, they have no right to expect that the protection of the laws of war will be extended to them. If they put themselves outside the law and resort to these tactics of desperation, they will be treated as outlaws and shot down accordingly.

The rules drawn up at Brussels attempt to give the civil populations some degree of protection which at the present moment they do not enjoy. When war breaks out, the victorious army on hostile soil knows no law but its own safety; hence, should the civil population resist, they can be dealt with as severely as the invader pleases. The more irritating the resistance of the people the more savage would be the reprisals of the invader.

Germany a Good Example.

The action of Germany in the Franco-German war showed how terribly the invader could on occasion resort to reprisals of the most barbarous kind when he considered that he was dealing not with regular troops, but with the unorganized hostility of the civil population.

The rules drawn up at Brussels at least secure for the civil population the right to be treated as lawful belligerents so long as they respect the laws and customs of war.

After the country has been overrun if a rising takes place those who revolt

against the authority of the invader will be entitled to the protection of the laws of war only on the following conditions: First, that they have some one at their head who will be responsible for their acts.

Second, that they bear some distinctive sign that they belong to an insurrectionary corps.

Third, that they carry arms openly.

Fourth, that they conform in all their operations to the laws and customs of war.

Against these restrictions upon the divine right of resistance to invasion the Belgians are in full revolt, and they are joined by the representatives of Holland and Switzerland.

Bernaert, the aged President of the Chamber of Deputies of Belgium, took the lead in the attack upon the rules of war which recognize the authority of an invader in a hostile country.

The Brussels rules are very moderate in so far as they define the duties and authority of an invading army, but the Belgians protest against this because they say when you define you recognize rights which are no rights.

What the Great Powers Say.

To this the great military powers reply: "When we define we limit the power which at present is unlimited and create responsibility where at present there is only irresponsible might."

So the argument swings backward and forward, but there seems to be little doubt that the arguments in favor of defining and regulating the authority of the invading army will carry the day.

Sweden, Denmark and Serbia have severed themselves from the smaller powers which support the Belgians, and what is more important, England, which in 1874 took the strongest possible stand in favor of the Belgian contention, has now gone over into the other camp.

The Belgians are much dismayed at what they consider to be the desertion of England. Personally I am glad that the attitude of opposition to Russia which was taken up by Lord Derby in 1874 has been abandoned.

The right to resist an invasion by poison, assassination, incendiarism, and every other means is inalienable and cannot be taken away from any invaded population, but to resort to such extreme measures puts those who use them out of the pale of legitimate combatants, and they have in that case no right to appeal to the protection of the laws of war.

All that is sought in the rules now under discussion is to extend to the civil population, if it will fight, fair play and give, according to the recognized rules, the same protection that is extended to the regular soldier. If they persist in refusing to play the game fair and prefer to resort to what is regarded as foul play, then they must be prepared to take the consequences.

At present they are all liable to be declared outlaws, even though they observe the laws and customs of war, so long as they are not part and parcel of a regular army.

The new rules will at least secure for a patriotic population which fights fair the same protection which can be claimed by the regular soldier.

Credit to Abraham Lincoln.

It is very interesting to Americans to know that in the historical retrospect with which Professor Martens opened his case for the Russian scheme he attributed the original initiative of the whole movement to Abraham Lincoln, whose code for the guidance of the Federal troops during the war served as the first example of the effort of humanity to reduce the laws of war within reasonable limits.

The other great subject that has engrossed attention has been the establishment of a permanent international tribunal.

The Russians, having at last plucked up the courage to produce their scheme, propose to constitute a permanent tribunal which should sit continuously, first for the purpose of dealing with all questions that come under the obligatory arbitration agreement, secondly for trying any other disputes which may be referred to them.

They propose that five powers should nominate judges for this court for a period of five years. At the end of this time new judges might be appointed.

This scheme has met with little favor on the part of the representatives of the other powers. The general opinion is that the English and American schemes go as far as it is safe to go.

It will be time enough to establish a permanent tribunal continuously sitting after it has been shown that an international tribunal with its list of nominated persons eligible as arbitrators has worked well.

I discussed the question with delegates of all nations every day last week and almost without exception they declare that it would be impossible to secure a general agreement in favor of going a step further than the proposals of Sir Julian Pauncefote.

Russians Merely on Record.

Even the Russians are not believed to be very earnest in pressing their alternative proposition.

Their scheme, to begin with, excites the jealousy of the smaller States, for they ask, "Who are the five powers that are to nominate the judges of this Supreme Court?" They could certainly not be chosen from secondary States. They would probably be the United States, England, Russia, France and Germany, and this would leave Italy and Austria, as well as all the other powers, out in the cold.



A Snap Shot of the Journal Commissioner at The Hague.

Mr. William T. Stead alighting from a carriage in front of the Hotel Vieux Doelen on his way to call upon Baron de Staël, President of the Peace Congress.

Germany would only have one representative, and her allies would not count. Even if it were extended so as to give the choice of judges to seven powers, so as to bring Austria and Italy in, the other smaller powers would still be left out. It is difficult to see why the Russians chose five instead of seven, seeing that seven could easily be constituted by adding the United States to the six great European powers.

Another objection that is made to the proposed continuous sitting of a permanent tribunal is that, no matter how highly you paid your judges, you could not get the best men to spend their time continuously in a small town like The Hague or Bern or Brussels, unless they had international business of first-class importance to deal with.

What, with this and other objections, it is assumed everywhere as a foregone conclusion that the Russian propositions will not be pressed, but will merely remain on record as a proof that Russia was willing to go further than any of her neighbors in the establishment of a permanent tribunal.

Russia is very backward in many respects, but there is no doubt that in the domain of international law she has usually been in the van.

At Friday's three-hour meeting the arbitration section definitely accepted the principle of obligatory arbitration for financial disputes and questions of interpretation of conventions.

After desultory discussion of a permanent tribunal, the Russians accepted the British proposals. The Europeans reject the American idea of the election of arbitrators by the Supreme Court judges.

A preference for the Russian plan of a

permanent tribunal is expressed by some members, but that it will be adopted by the committee is very doubtful.

At today's meeting of the section on rules of war a lively discussion occurred wherein many delegates took part. The British delegate emphasized the statement previously made that the British Government would not sign any convention on rules of war, but would co-operate in making the rules as good as possible, leaving each power to adopt them as a code for its own guidance when war breaks out.

The Belgian opposition to the changes has weakened since the idea of a formal code enacted by a binding convention was abandoned. The discussion will be resumed Monday.

Delegate Martens, the amir in the Venezuelan arbitration, leaves for Paris Monday, but will return to The Hague after arranging the preliminaries.

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

CLASH AT JOHANNESBURG MAY PRECIPITATE WAR.



SIR ALFRED MILNER. OOM PAUL KRUGER.

The Boer and the Briton Who Could Not Agree.

The negotiations between the President of the South African Republic and the British Commissioner for South Africa having come to naught, war between the English and the Boers is predicted.

LONDON.

June 10.—It is not improbable that the crisis in the Transvaal will be hastened by some outward incident at Johannesburg.

Mr. J. R. Robinson, the South African millionaire and mine owner, received a telegram to-day from his agent at Johannesburg, saying the situation there is most serious.

The agent added that a mass meeting of Uitlanders is to be held in order to confirm and support the proposals of the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner. As open air meetings are not allowed without permission it is not improbable, if the necessary permission is not obtained, that the police will endeavor to stop the meeting.

The consensus of opinion among prominent Uitlanders and South African capitalists in London is that the British Government is in a tight fix, that it cannot retreat from its position and that if President Kruger does not recede, war is inevitable. Regarding the suggestion that the United

States be asked to mediate between the Transvaal and Great Britain, Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the United States Ambassador, says:

"While every good American would welcome the possibility of helping a solution of the present situation, we have not been approached in the matter, and I personally know nothing of this proposed mediation by America."

An official of the Foreign Office said to the Associated Press:

"We have not approached America, nor has America approached us in this matter, and it is very unlikely that America will be asked to do anything of the kind, much as we value the good feeling existing between the two countries."

A detachment of 200 royal engineers sailed to-day for South Africa from Southampton.

Oom Paul's Proposals Approved. Pretoria, Transvaal Republic, June 10.—After deliberating in secret all the morning, the Volksraad yesterday afternoon approved President Kruger's franchise proposals and instructed the Government to draw them up in the form of a law, which will be submitted to the Volksraad.

The Volksraad yesterday also passed a resolution of regret that the British High Commissioner had not accepted President Kruger's proposals, which the Volksraad considers in the highest degree reasonable.

PARIS ARMS FOR A SECOND LOUBET ROW

Infantry, Cavalry and Police to Guard the Race Track.

PARIS.

June 10.—The Prefecture of Police has issued an announcement that 6,000 police, 20 squadrons of cavalry and a brigade of infantry will be stationed tomorrow between the Elysee Palace and the paddock at Longchamps, upon the occasion of President Loubet's visit to the race course in order to see the race for the Grand Prix de Paris.

Numerous detachments of police, cavalry and infantry will also be distributed at certain points in Paris where disturbances are thought to be possible.

The Journal, on authority of counsel for Count Christiani, who on Sunday last struck at President Loubet with a cane at the Auteuil race course during the demonstration there, says the defense will be that the Count acted in an excited state and did not know what he was doing.

Count Christiani will, it is announced, make a full apology when he is placed on trial.

Mr. Choate at a Dance.

London, June 10.—Joseph H. Choate, the United States Ambassador, and Mrs. Choate, and Mr. Henry White, Secretary of the United States Embassy, and Mrs. White, and Mr. James R. Carter, Second Secretary of the United States Embassy, and Mrs. Carter, attended the reception and dance given by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the secretary for War, on Wednesday, which was one of the most brilliant events of the season.

6 Per Cent New York City Investment. The well-known banking house of Haight & Free, New York, Boston and Philadelphia, being before the public an attractive 6 per cent New York City investment. They offer for subscription \$100,000 First Mortgage 6 per cent Gold Bonds of the American Market Company at par and accrued interest. Interest commences June 1, 1899, and is payable semi-annually at the office of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, where, when due, the bonds themselves are payable.

The capital stock, viz., \$800,000, is already fully subscribed, and as the American Market Company will meet a long-felt want on the West Side in providing a general market fitted up with all modern improvements, the earning capacity of the company is more than assured. Annual income over all fixed charges is estimated at \$87,000, so that the bonds offer a security for a safe and remunerative investment not often met with at this time. Prospectus and any additional particulars may be had by personal or mailed application to Haight & Free, 60 Broadway.

LAWTON DRIVES REBELS OUT OF HILLS SOUTH OF MANILA.

MANILA, June 10.—At day-break to-day a force of 4,500 men under

Generals Lawton, Wheaton and Owenshine advanced from San Pedro Macati, sweeping the country between the Bay of Manila and Bay Lake south of Manila. By noon the country had been cleared almost to Paranaque.

The Americans lost two officers killed and twenty-one soldiers wounded.

The rebels resisted desperately at the stronger of their positions, and left fifty dead in the trenches. Many more wounded were left behind.

The heat during the day was overpowering, and there were many prostrations of American soldiers from that cause.

At daybreak the artillery, the Colorados and the Nevada cavalry swung around the hilltop on the left and opened the battle at 6:30. The Colorado men charged a trench and the rebels fled.

In the meantime part of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth regiments formed in skirmish line, and supported by the rest of the regiments, swept down the valley and up the hillside toward another trench. Approaching through the morass seriously hampered the Fourteenth, and the rebels, taking advantage of this, poured a galling fire upon them for thirty minutes.

The Fourteenth was twice compelled to withdraw for the purpose of finding a safe crossing in the swamp. Finally the trench was unrolled on both flanks and the rebels fled to the woods and sustained severe loss.

The double-turreted monitor Monadnock and three other vessels shelled Paranaque this morning, and the rebels promptly evacuated the place.

MONADNOCK'S CAPTAIN DEAD OF SUNSTROKE.

Cable from Manila Announces Nichols' Unexpected Sudden End.

Washington, June 10.—A cablegram was received at the Navy Department to-day from Captain Barker, the naval officer in command at Manila, announcing the sudden death of Captain Henry Nichols from sunstroke.

Captain Nichols was the commander of the monitor Monadnock. The War Department has received the following dispatch: Manila, June 10.—To Adjutant-General,

Washington: First Lieutenant Richard B. Westnedge, surgeon, U. S. A., died here at 4 o'clock this day of typhoid fever.

"OTIS."

Russia and England Buy Gold Here.

London, June 10.—It is understood the Bank of England has bought £500,000 (\$2,500,000) in American eagles to strengthen its reserve, to which end most of the gold now on its way will be devoted. The report that Russia is a buyer of gold in New York is regarded here as being significant.

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10 cents and 25 cents, at drug stores.

THE CRUISER NEWARK UNDOUBTEDLY IS SAFE.

She Was Seen to Enter Sandy Point and Is Not Yet Due to Arrive at Valparaiso.

Washington, June 10.—The cruiser Newark has been heard from and undoubtedly is safe. The following dispatch was received this afternoon at the Navy Department:

Monterey, June 10.

Secretary of the Navy, Washington: The purser of a steamer of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company which arrived at Monterey June 2 saw the Newark enter Sandy Point May 31.

The above dispatch, it is said at the Navy Department, shows that while the Newark

was very much overdue at Sandy Point, which is in the Straits of Magellan, she is not overdue from that point to Valparaiso.

PADEREWSKI WEDDED; MISS ROSEN HIS BRIDE.

London, June 10.—Advices from St. Petersburg just received confirm the report of the marriage of Paderewski to Miss Helen Rosen, at Warsaw, May 31.

A Bark Sunk at Sea.

London, June 10.—The Norwegian bark *Czar*, Captain Christophersen, from Mollie April 4 for Buenos Ayres, was sunk in latitude 5 north by collision with the British steamer *Blackheath*, Captain Peters, from Cardiff May 10 for Santos, which has arrived at Bahia. The crew of the *Czar* was saved.

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